JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS ABROAD

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Introduction

Our intent here is to review research completed to date on our subject and to call attention to topics which seem particularly promising for future investigation. We have limited our concern to research on Japanese in the Americas and Hawaii, feeling that materials on Japanese in other areas are too fugitive or the issues they concern too parochial to justify inclusion in this brief review.

Migration from Japan began in 1868, the year of the Restoration. Although Japan strove to resettle large numbers of excess proletarians in Manchukuo and other areas under her political control in the interwar period, the most successful, lasting and best documented migrations were to other regions of the world and seem to bear no relation to the Empire's colonial ambitions. Well above a million, and possibly five million, Japanese went abroad during this period for reasons other than tourism and governmental foreign service (Ichihashi 1932: 12; Ota 1968: 1). Foreign reaction to the image of Japan presented by immigrants abroad has tended to be mixed and in general far less favorable than that produced by Japanese achievements in the arts, letters, technology, and scholarship. The body of literature on emigration and the Japanese abroad is vast, but it is uneven in quality and displays little thematic consistency. One of its prominent characteristics is a pulse-like pattern over time as the intensity of scholarly interest in migration rose and fell according to the intensity of concern felt by receiving nations over strategies of accepting and exporting immigrants and over the treatment of resident Japanese minorities. The stages of development of attitudes toward and tactics for dealing with the Japanese in major receiving countries show certain interesting parallels. Thus in the United States, Brazil, Canada, and to a lesser extent in Peru, Hawaii, and even Mexico, the swelling number of Japanese immigrants led to public outcry, expressed initially as concern over economic competition in certain kinds of agriculture because of the immigrants' intense work habits and cooperative social patterns. In the United States, the extensive literature on the "Yellow Peril," "Gentlemen's Agreement,"

and "California Problems" (Daniels 1962) well describes the incendiary character of the American reaction. In Brazil, anti-Japanese agitation tended to be expressed more in terms of economic threat than as a racial issue (Saito 1961: chap. V). During the 1920's, when the United States was temporizing with the Oriental Exclusion Act, Brazil's parliament debated the assimilability of Japanese as compared with European immigrants (Saito 1961: 126-130), but in the constitutional convention of 1946, exclusion on the grounds of unassimilability was rejected by a moral appeal to the national ideal of racial equality (Suzuki 1954). Canada's Oriental policy (cf. Young et al 1938 and LaViolette 1945) paralleled developments in the United States but was accompanied by less public acrimony.

Japanese migrated to Hawaii initially because of the critical demand for plantation labor (Conroy 1953; Lind 1946); a similar demand existed in some Latin American areas, particularly Brazil and Peru. Japanese immigrants were welcomed in the belief that as "racial cognates" they would revitalize the declining native population (Adams 1937). Until American annexation in 1898, the close alliance between the Hawaiian government and plantation interests limited admission to contract agricultural labor only. Although immigration policy was governed by American policies and laws after 1898, the anti-Oriental racism of the mainland did not take root in the islands.

Migration was heaviest to Hawaii and North America; as immigration barriers in these countries rose, the movement shifted to Peru and Brazil. Second to Brazil, Peru received the largest number of Japanese immigrants in Latin America and has one of the longest records of modern contact with Japan. Japanese worked as contract plantation laborers a decade before the first official migrant shipment to Brazil. Few contract laborers remained in Peru except in Lima, where within a few years there was a resident ethnic community of petty entrepreneurs, shopkeepers, hotel operators, and barbers. There are only a few useful studies of the Japanese in Peru (Normano and Gerbi 1943; Bradley 1942; Saito 1963; Irie 1951).

In the early period of immigration to Peru, Japanese were subject to prejudicial abuse similar to but less intense than that in North America. Foreign relations between Peru and Japan were equable and friendly. During the interwar period, these relations seem to have grown stronger because of a pervasive distrust of *yanquismo* in Latin America. Amicable relations with Japan were regarded by Latin governments as a desirable counter to American influence. During the 1930's, trade and investment rather than immigration tied Latin America with Japan. Increasingly cordial relations with Japan at the governmental level in the interwar years contrasted with covert anti-Japanese tensions and a policy of discrimination with respect to the Japanese community. Such policy contradictions tended to be more representative of Spanish America than of Brazil (Saito 1963; Bradley 1942).

Until after World War II, most Japanese in Argentina, Paraguay, and Bolivia came from Brazil. In the mid-1930's Brazil adopted a restrictive quota system as part of Getulio Vargas' program to promote nationalism among regionally disparate populations; other countries maintained "open-door" policies. In Brazil and neighboring countries, policies on Japanese immigration and assimilation reflect a generally non-coercive, gradualistic approach to problems of ethnic difference, despite certain economic tensions and occasional public expression of doubt concerning their assimilability (Neiva and Diegues 1959).

Brazil and adjacent temperate lands have received the largest number of immigrants, followed by Peru, and then by a region composed of Mexico, Cuba, and Dominica. Literature on the Japanese in these countries, except for Brazil, is rare. Two studies by geographers of a Japanese colony in eastern Paraguay comprise almost the entire body of material on this country (Stewart 1967; Nishikawa 1964). These studies describe the strategies by which the settlers established a viable economic niche; the colony came to serve as a model of modern community development for the native population. In Argentina, Japanese geographers have recently begun to work on problems of pioneer settlement. A Kobe survey team has done an intensive investigation of agricultural economics in postwar Japanese colonies there (Kayama 1967; 1968), and suggests that the colonists' farm management is too unsystematic and opportunistic to assure stable growth of the colony over the long run.

Central America is not a major region of Japanese immigration, and almost no research has been done there. Two studies by Nash and Schaw (1962-63; 1965) are concerned with acculturation as reflected in personality; the authors collected projective data on achievement motivation from Japanese immigrants and their descendants on the Isle of Pines, Cuba, and compared it with Caudill's data on Chicago Japanese.

Although Mexico became increasingly inhospitable to East Asians after 1905, one of the larger Asian populations in the hemisphere may be found there; almost no research has been done on Japanese and Korean residents of Mexico.

Policies and Structures of Japanese Emigration

It is extremely difficult to summarize the information available on Japan's emigration policies, the motives behind these policies, and the organization of past and present systems of emigration. Though the literature is extensive, consistent themes are difficult to discern.

Japan, as we have already remarked, was late in encouraging emigration. Even when the government formulated an explicit policy position and intervened in emigration management from time to time over the past century, these actions were delayed responses to problems of change at home and to expanding networks of international relations rather than

innovations. The state's attitude toward emigration seems to have been associated with plans to build a modern nation. Although there is no evidence that the state consciously manipulated emigration to further national ambitions in foreign countries, there is evidence that emigration was treated as a sensitive index of international relations; the state observed the repercussions of emigration and made sure that emigration practices did not interfere with the larger aims of foreign policy.

In 1868, maltreatment of the first contract shipment of plantation workers to Hawaii disillusioned the Meiji government. Abuses which workers suffered in China's "coolie trade" made the government additionally wary of sending its nationals abroad as agricultural laborers. Labor emigration was prohibited until 1884, but visiting foreign countries for purposes of education was encouraged. Until the early twentieth century, the Japanese emigrant to the United States was an ambitious young man employed as a house boy or in other menial work, whose true goal in going abroad was to obtain advanced schooling—a rare if not unique motive in the annals of modern migration (Takamine 1912; Ichihashi 1932: 5). The vast majority left Japan expecting only to do manual labor for a few years and earn enough money to lead a better life after returning to Japan. Before World War II, immigrants considered themselves to be only temporary residents of their host country.

Japan's attempts to settle Hokkaido through sponsored migration seems to have had little direct influence on her policies regarding foreign migration. During a flush of "emigration fever" in the 1880's, laborers were permitted to leave the country. Concern with population pressure did not influence policy until perhaps forty years later. The "Emigration Protection Law" of 1894 specified that overseas movement was not to follow the western laissez-faire model, but the government played a relatively passive role which was consistent with its "sponsored capitalism" approach to national modernization in general (Lockwood 1966: 99). The government's reluctance to become involved directly in the mechanics of emigrant recruitment, conveyance and resettlement seems to have been offset by a strong interest in facilitating emigration to relieve growing economic distress at home. Sissons (1968) suggests that the government regarded emigration—and immigrants abroad—as a nuisance, of no great interest within the broad spectrum of policy decisions.

During most of the prewar period, the government favored the so-called "emigration company," a type of private enterprise operating through personal networks between bureaucrats and private bankers or venture capitalists whose motives involved both profit and public service. The nature and role of emigration companies remains enigmatic, but they seem to have been important until 1926 when administration of emigration became a public responsibility (Burajiru ni okeru Nihonjin Hatten-shi

Iinkai 1941: chapt. 3). For some time the government was undecided about whether to see emigration as an adjunct of foreign relations or as a special area unrelated to international politics, as an aspect of domestic affairs or of foreign affairs (cf. Burajiru ni okeru Nihonjin Hatten-shi Iinkai 1941). In the latter half of the first interwar decade, national policy on emigration was established, and basically the same policy exists today.

Two major impetuses behind the swing to direct state involvement in emigration were the explosive domestic issues of population and unemployment pressures, matters of more than parochial interest (cf. Crocker 1931; Idei 1930; Takaoka 1925). Emigration did not solve population problems; even grandiose schemes for massive human resettlement within the Empire in the last prewar decade failed to measure up to expectations.

The tendency for policy to be reformed only when the need for emigration was agonizingly apparent seems to have continued until the 1960's. Recently, the objectives of emigration are being considered in more global terms of international cooperation (Kaigai Iju Shingikai 1963).

Despite the existence of a large body of materials on the subject, we still have no more than a hazy understanding of the behavioral phenomena underlying emigration, e.g., whether there are special "immigrant" constitutional and/or psychological types (Shapiro 1939; Kimura 1940). The few studies of Japanese immigrants to Hawaii suggest they were statistically deviant from national norms in certain factors, but present evidence sheds no light on the dynamics of auto-selection. Motivation to emigrate is usually construed as an artifact of recruitment procedures, or thought to involve choice among economic alternatives at home and abroad. We should inquire further into the cognitive and motivational factors which predispose the individual to migrate irrespective of his socioeconomic context.

Japanese emigrants, whether recruited by public or private agencies, are usually "impersonally sponsored" or *kobo-imin* (a class name for officially nominated emigrants). The other major class, *yobiyose-imin*, corresponds to the general formulation "chain migration" (Macdonald and Macdonald 1964). Movement to Brazil was more often of the former type prior to World War II; the latter type has been most common since the war (Comissao de Recenseamento da Colonia Japonesa, 1: 231-259). Migration to North America and Hawaii has largely been chain migration.

The Japanese Minorities in the United States and Brazil

A rich, variegated literature exists on Japanese ethnic minorities in the United States and Brazil, the two major countries of overseas settlement (cf. Smith et al 1967). We have elected to focus on America and Brazil not only because each is the adopted homeland of hundreds of thousands of persons of Japanese ancestry but also because in these two societies the Japanese occupy different positions. What are the processes by which they

came to occupy these different overseas niches? We feel that the distinctive trajectories of immigrant adaptation and absorption in each country depended more on specific historical factors in the country's modern development than on such factors as environmental ecology and particular features of the Japanese sociocultural "baggage."

A generalization which requires further comparative work is that Japanese immigration and resettlement in Brazil represent a more rational effort than the Hawaiian and North American episodes. Immigrants also found greater flexibility in Brazil and fewer ideological and structural restrictions, which enabled them to be articulated with Brazilian society but also to operate with substantial autonomy in their own ethnic institutions.

One major type of scholarly literature concerning the Japanese in Brazil is the *colonia* histories. They provide a more detailed record of the processes of immigrant settlement and the interlinking of regional and national ethnic institutions than exists for the Japanese in America. Historical studies done before the war were almost exclusively the work of officials of the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Overseas Affairs, and presumably reflect the government's special interest in Brazil as the leading emigration outlet after access to Hawaii and North America had been restricted. Around World War II, general and local *colonia* histories by immigrant authors began to appear (Wako 1939; Koyama 1949; Ando, cited in Smith et al 1967: 2-5). The writings of Ando in particular provide background to the internal ferment among Japanese-Brazilians from the late 1930's with respect to the immigrants' relations with Japan, early strategies of economic adaptation in the frontier zones of Sao Paulo State, and the sociological characteristics of the immigrant stream which, he assumes, precipitated the organizational forms of Japanese *colonia* society.

If we compare sociological and social anthropological studies of the Japanese in the United States and Brazil, we find that in both countries the bulk of migrants arrived as unskilled labor and settled in communities characterized by high solidarity; they, along with internal migrants, were attracted to "frontier" regions which were growing rapidly. Japanese settlement in the United States is complex. The migrants were more diverse than in Brazil; a sizable number seem to have come as spontaneous migrants from Hawaii, for example. On the West Coast, the Japanese confronted the so-called "frontier psychology" of anti-Orientalism (cf. Inui 1925; Daniels 1962), which never seriously disadvantaged the Japanese in Brazil. The alien land laws in California and Washington, and greater repatriation of rural than of urban Japanese, encouraged early urbanization of the American group (LaViolette 1945: chapter 3). In Brazil, on the other hand, tensions during World War II which postponed massive urban drift preserved the rural character of immigrant society.

Accordingly, the foci of scholarly studies of the Japanese minorities in

the United States and Brazil differ. American researchers prefer to study limited aspects of the minority's adaptive adjustment, and its acculturative interaction with the wider society in circumscribed areas such as education, intermarriage, housing, delinquency, and occupational choice. In Brazilian social research, structural studies of particular organizations integral to the immigrant-centered (*issei*-focal rather than *ethno*-focal) *colonia* and community studies predominate.

The early community study of Miyamoto (1939) is a landmark in the literature on Japanese in America. Stressing the organic solidarity of the Seattle Japanese, Miyamoto describes how the "community" adapts to the urban milieu in terms of primary-group bonds in family, work, entrepreneurship, education, channels of power, and so on. He argues that anti-Japanese sentiment served to maximize solidarity relations even in a geographically dispersed population. He contends, however, that the solidary community contains the seeds of its own disintegration. LaViolette (1945) says the prewar West Coast "community" manifests interests, structures, and behavioral modes similar to communities in Japan. Like Miyamoto, this author stresses the erosion of the Japanese character of the ethnic community by "American" influences. In a new book Kitano (1969) examines the evolution of the Japanese minority and points up its current success in America.

Virtually all published research on the Japanese in the United States is concerned with change toward the American system, and assumes that acculturation is inevitable. Befu's recent study (1965) comparing two rural California communities similar in migration history and ecological circumstances but different in access to social and economic contact opportunities, furnishes a rare example of empirical research designed to generate explanatory hypotheses. By controlling for variable factors linking the community enclaves to the environment he is able to suggest causes behind different directions and rates of acculturation. His study, moreover, intimates that an ethnic community may possess an unsuspected vitality if given sufficient opportunity to manage the forces of change. A defect of the literature rather than of this study is that the proportion of the postwar ethnic minority which these cases represent is unknown.

Embree's (1941) research on the Japanese of Kona Coast, Hawaii, provides one of the few other studies which focus on acculturative processes in nonurban communities. He attempts to account for weakened community cohesion in the Japanese settlements by comparing cognate institutional features of villages in Japan and in Kona.

A recent paper by Yoshida and Chang (1962) analyzes sociocultural adaptation of "refugee immigrants" who came from rural Kagoshima (*nanmin*) to San Mateo, California, after the war. The early postentry experiences of the *nanmin* closely parallel those of earlier immigrants in

America and Brazil, including exploitative treatment by their *issei* and *nisei* sponsor-employers. In general, young unmarried males and wives of immigrants adjust more readily to American urban conditions than do older married males.

An important difference between the behavioral science materials on the Japanese in North America and those on the Japanese in Brazil is that pioneer work in Brazil was done mainly from the perspective of rural sociology and ethnology (Willems and Baldus 1942; Willems 1948). Field investigations centered on contact-induced change in formal organizational features and material culture, and attempted to explicate those factors which encouraged the greater social "encystment" of Japanese communities as compared with other immigrant minorities. For instance, attention was directed to sources of Japanese resistance to intermarriage; it was concluded that Japanese social values concerning marriage raised a "class"-like barrier between them and the majority. A related concern was to compare the ethnic image which Brazilians had of Japanese and other immigrant groups. Willems (1948) and Martuscelli (1950), for example, applied the "social distance scale" to students of Japanese ancestry. Martuscelli found that Brazilians ranked Japanese among the least desirable foreign groups, along with Russians, Germans, Jews, Spaniards, and Syrian-Lebanese.

A series of surveys and community studies in Amazonia and southern Brazil in the 1950's by a team of Japanese and Japanese-Brazilians under Izumi Seiichi (Izumi 1957) advanced the empirical study of the range and variety of Japanese agrarian settlement. The first survey, by Izumi and Saito, was the first to use sampling techniques, which allow for generalization about the structure of ethnic society. The same volume presents community studies which offer a basic taxonomy of the dominant modes of immigrant adaptation under widely varying natural conditions. Although these studies make no notable theoretical contribution and are heavily preoccupied with economic factors, they represent the beginning of a new phase of fieldwork-oriented research.

Another major milestone is the monumental report of the 1958 national census of the Japanese *colonia* (Comissao de Recenseamento da Colonia Japonesa 1964). Carried out in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of sponsored immigration to Brazil, these tabulated statistics provide an unique and basic data inventory for social scientists. Nothing comparable is available for the Japanese in the United States.

Among the best known overviews of the Brazilian Japanese is Saito's study of the dynamics of adaptation of the immigrant family and community. Essentially a demographic analysis and history of immigration and pioneer settlement, this important work stresses the structural modifications which occur in the family because of conditions of entry. Of singular interest is the "composed" family phenomenon, a migration form in which out-

siders are incorporated temporarily into the family unit in order to bring its manpower up to the strength demanded by Brazilian immigration authorities. The fictive members usually went their own way after initial settlement in the country. This procedure also enabled unattached individuals to qualify for emigrant subsidies and sometimes served the same purpose as the "picture bride" system did in the United States. Saito's central theme concerns the search of the immigrant for a stable terminus ad quem in the thinly populated Brazilian interior, and the tendency for previously unrelated migrants of similar background to form communities with a certain structure. Unlike the American West Coast, the Brazilian frontier was for the Japanese a physical realm of abundant opportunity for the enterprising homesteader, without the liability of fixed investment in land. Such ethnic communities spontaneously evolve a common style of organization containing functionally equivalent features of the *buraku* in Japan. Consistent with such emphasis in Saito's work and that of his Japanese and Japanese-Brazilian colleagues are notions advanced by Ono (1966) and Tsukamoto (1959) that Japanese immigrants tend to reproduce the social forms of the homeland.

Two major themes run through the Brazilian literature. Structure rather than behavioral content is emphasized. In contrast, American literature emphasizes social problems; the Japanese are studied as a disadvantaged minority group, and assimilation is seen as a positive process. Brazil has a greater tolerance of ethnic differences, and social scientists are less preoccupied with finding strategems fostering structural assimilation.

The second theme in Brazilian literature is a special interest in the economics of smallfarming by family units, of which the Japanese are regarded as originators and leading exponents (Unzer de Almeida 1957; Ono and Miyazaki 1957; Nishikawa 1964 and 1968). There is a concentration of interest in *colonia* macroinstitutions, particularly in the agricultural cooperative, which the Japanese are credited with pioneering in Brazil. These organizations serve many functions besides the economic function, both at the community and *colonia*-society levels. Ando (1961) and Saito (1965) examine the Cotia Cooperative, one of several large Japanese-dominated cooperatives.

The most important factor contributing to Japanese accommodation to the Brazilian system today is urbanization. The meager literature on Japanese in urban conditions includes a superficial study of the urban geography of the Japanese "collectivity" in the Pinheiros district of Sao Paulo (Departamento de Geografia de Universidade de Sao Paulo 1963: chapter V) and a group of case studies describing the extension of rural patterns into neighboring urban centers (Tsukamoto 1957; Shima 1957; Vieira 1967).

The brief period during which Japanese-Americans underwent wartime

relocation has been well studied in the two-volume work by a University of California group (Thomas and Nishimoto 1946; Thomas 1952), Leighton's and the Spicer group's accounts of behavior in stress-filled camp conditions (Leighton 1945; Spicer et al 1969), and the work of Broom and his colleagues on postwar readjustment of families (Broom and Riemer 1949; Broom and Kitsuse 1956). Relocation very substantially vitiated the solidary organization of ethnic society, and because the *nisei* had greater mobility and expanded contacts within the wider society they replaced the immigrant generation as the dominant force in the minority (Befu 1965). In Brazil, organized paranationalist movements arose among scattered ethnic colonies in the interior, the most famous of which was Shindo-Remmei. The several published accounts of this movement (Tigner 1961; Willems and Saito 1947; Neves 1960) show that it was symptomatic of a deeper division among the Japanese—between those who saw themselves as temporarily expatriate and those who were committed to absorption. Both this movement and the American relocation revealed dichotomized attitudes and aspirations toward the home and host countries, and both triggered widespread rethinking about commitment to the host country.

In both countries, few studies have focused on immigrant religion. An important recent contribution to this neglected field is Maeyama's study of one of the "new religions," Seicho-no-ie, in Brazil (Maeyama 1967).

Nine-tenths of the Japanese population in Brazil is located in the south. Ecologically and historically the Japanese in Amazonia to the north faced quite different problems of adaptation, and developed their own distinctive social patterns. Surviving colonists are more fixed to their "colony" territory than those in the south, and depend on the type of cash-crop production which made their initial success possible. The Japanese in this region face special problems as well as rich economic possibilities (Izumi and Saito 1954; Tada 1957). Studies of the world's leading pepper-producing center, Tome-Acu (Gamo 1957; Staniford 1967), offer a penetrating examination of the problems and strategies of family agricultural enterpreneurship in the tropics.

The Nisei

We will limit the discussion of the *nisei* to North America and Brazil. Because these two national societies contain Japanese populations of comparable magnitudes, the two descendant groups should share many problems of social identity, minority-majority group participation, and behavioral integration at the level of national life.

Because the immigration histories of the two countries do not coincide, the onset of effective *nisei* participation in national life came at different times. Recognition by scholars that the *nisei* constituted a problem area apart from *issei* was hampered by the immigrant generation's standards and authority. Awareness of *nisei* as a special kind of Japanese did not occur

until the *nisei* began to participate in society as adults. In the United States, *nisei* were participating actively in national life before the war but found their own independent niche in the postwar era. In Brazil, the generation gap has obtruded mainly within the present decade. Only part of this delay is attributable to the younger average age of Brazilian *nisei*; in some part it must be put down to the protracted isolation of descendants in the rural interior and to reinforcement of the *issei* group through immigration which continued until the war's outbreak.

Among the earliest problem-oriented researches on *nisei* was a series of studies by a Stanford group interested in improved educational opportunities for minority children (Strong 1934). At war's end, Laviolette's (1945) sociological survey of West Coast Japanese and Obrien's (1945) examination of college students called attention to problems of the adult *nisei* in gaining acceptance and equality of participation in the larger life of the country. The "relocation" literature also recognizes that *nisei* faced a distinct set of problems in removal and return (cf. Thomas and Nishimoto 1946; Broom and Kitsuse 1956). A growing number of graduate dissertations and theses concerning *nisei* acculturation and education were produced in the postwar years.

An especially rich body of published materials deals with psychological and social-psychological aspects of the Japanese-Americans. Since these studies are viewed by Norbeck and DeVos (1961), we will consider only certain highlights. The well-known projective studies by Caudill and DeVos of *nisei* personality change in acculturation indicate less maladjustment than expected from work with other immigrant minorities. The ethnic attitudes and values internalized in socialization are mainly concordant with those of the American middle class, which provides the goals for achievement once the *nisei* is freed from dependence on *issei* society.

Projective data of Peruvian *nisei* (reported by Hiroshi Wagatsuma in Norbeck and DeVos 1961) suggest less strong personal achievement motivation than among the Americans or Brazilians. Our own work with *nisei* college students in Sao Paulo and an interior city (Cornell et al, in press) indicates higher rates of college admission among *nisei* than among any other group of foreign origin; their academic records, however, are not outstanding. Cardoso (1963) suggests that the *nisei* still have close ties to the immigrant family, and that family pressure is a more important factor in maximizing *nisei* education than autonomous achievement drive.

Conclusion

There are other important topics which we have not discussed, such as the impact of overseas experience on Japanese students; the valuable work on Japanese *ryugakusei* in this country (Bennett et al 1958) must be supplemented with research in other countries. Another topic concerns the Japanese businessman abroad. The small amount of research on family

entrepreneurship is a serious gap in view of its importance in Japan and in such host countries as the United States and Brazil. Recent theoretical and methodological advances have been made in linguistic science and the study of linguistic acculturation and bilingualism, and these subjects should be included in the agenda of future conferences.

Immigrant society is usually explained in terms of native structural equivalents, but what the native structural analogues or models are, and the mechanisms by which structures are replicated, are unclear. There is little attention given to the effects of change at home on the adaptive mechanisms overseas at successive periods. The immigrant family is not accorded the central position it deserves as a vehicle for maintaining ethnic forms and style of life; in view of the seminal work being done on the psycho-dynamics and psycho-pathology of overseas Japanese, further cross-cultural comparisons of family socialization mechanisms seems desirable.

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